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**INTERNAL PARTY DEMOCRACY AND PARTY
INSTITUTIONALIZATION IN NIGERIA: IMPLICATION FOR
DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION -1999-2015**



ALFA PATRICK INNOCENT (902050)

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITY UTARA MALAYSIA
NOVEMBER 2019**

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INSTITUTIONALIZATION IN NIGERIA: IMPLICATION FOR
DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION -1999-2015.**



ALFA PATRICK INNOCENT (902050)

**A Thesis Submitted to the College of Law, Government and International
Studies in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy, Universiti Utara Malaysia**



Kolej Undang-Undang, Kerajaan dan Pengajian Antarabangsa
(College of Law, Government and International Studies)
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ABSTRACT

The study interrogates the interface between internal party democracy, party institutionalization and democratic consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. It is a conceptual and qualitative study which employed primary and secondary data collection procedures. The data were analysed thematically. The study contends that since Nigeria's return to democratic rule on May 29, 1999, political parties have not been able to contribute meaningfully to democratic consolidation. Using two leading Fourth Republic political parties, the People Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressives Congress (APC) as case studies, the study posits that the inability of the parties to make a positive impact in consolidating the country's democracy is informed by their level of institutionalization which have been undermined by the dearth of internal party democracy. This has manifested in the dysfunctional ways in which they evolve, their inherent lack of unity and focus, involvement in electoral fraud, intergovernmental disharmony, political violence, ideological deficit, indiscipline, elite polarisation and endemic defection. The study avers that there is a critical need for Nigeria's political parties to, among others, adhere to the tenets of internal party democracy, hinge their formation and operations on ideologies, refrain from ethnic politics and remain stable with effective societal roots at all times. The study also advocates the need to evolve a nationalistic and visionary leadership. The need for an articulate political socialization is also seen by the study as imperative in order to promote the values of unity, hard work, accommodation and discipline. The INEC should be constitutionally empowered to enforce internal party democracy. Efficient intraparty and interparty deliberations are also prescriptive to entrench the culture of cooperation. Fundamentally too, the study suggests that a new political culture and legal framework should be pursued by relevant institutions to ensure that political competitions are anchored on constitutional government, separation of powers and the rule of law. The study concludes that the enforcement of these recommendations by the relevant stakeholders will promote internal party democracy, facilitate party institutionalization and fast track democratic consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic.

Key Words: Internal party democracy, Party institutionalization, Democratic consolidation, Fourth Republic, Nigeria.

ABSTRAK

Kajian ini menyelidik hubungkait di antara demokrasi parti dalaman, penginstitutionan parti dan penyatuan demokratik di Republik Keempat Nigeria. Kajian ini merupakan kajian berbentuk konseptual dan kualitatif yang menggunakan prosedur pengumpulan data primer dan sekunder. Data dianalisis berdasarkan tema. Kajian ini mendapati sejak Nigeria kembali ke pemerintahan demokratik pada 29 Mei 1999, parti politik didapati tidak dapat menyumbang sepenuhnya kepada penyatuan demokratik. Dengan menggunakan dua parti politik Republik Keempat, Parti Demokratik Rakyat (PDP) dan Kongres Semua Progresif (APC) sebagai kajian kes, kajian ini berpendapat bahawa ketidakupayaan parti-parti tersebut untuk memberi kesan positif dalam mengukuhkan demokrasi negara adalah disebabkan tahap penginstitutionan yang lemah, yang mana ianya berpunca dari kekurangan demokrasi parti dalaman. Ini terbukti melalui pelbagai carayang langsung tidak menyumbang kepada perkembangan parti, seperti kekurangan sifat perpaduan dan tidak memberikan tumpuan, penglibatan dalam penipuan semasa pilihan raya, ketidakharmonian dalam kerajaan, keganasan politik, defisit ideologi, ketidakpedulian, polarisasi elit dan pembelotan yang berleluasa. Kajian mendapati bahawa adalah amat kritikal bagi parti politik Nigeria untuk mematuhi prinsip demokrasi parti dalaman, bergantung kepada pembentukan dan operasi mereka terhadap ideologi, menjauhkan diri daripada politik etnik dan tetap stabil dengan tunjang masyarakat yang berkesan pada setiap masa. Kajian ini juga menyokong keperluan untuk mengembangkan kepimpinan yang nasionalistik dan berwawasan. Keperluan untuk sosialisasi politik yang jelas juga dilihat sebagai penting untuk mempromosikan nilai-nilai perpaduan, bekerja keras, bertolak ansur dan berdisiplin. Suruhanjaya Bebas Pilihanraya Kebangsaan (INEC) harus diberi kuasa secara perlembagaan untuk menguatkuasakan demokrasi parti dalaman. Kecekapan dalam parti politik dan perbincangan di antara parti juga merupakan cara terbaik untuk memupuk budaya kerjasama. Secara asasnya juga, kajian mencadangkan bahawa budaya politik dan kerangka undang-undang yang baharu perlu diadakan oleh mana-mana institusi yang berkenaan untuk memastikan bahawa pertandingan politik adalah berdasarkan kerajaan yang berperlembagaan, pemisahan kuasa dan kedaulatan undang-undang. Kajian menyimpulkan bahawa penguatkuasaan cadangan-cadangan di atas oleh pihak-pihakberkepentingan yang relevan akan menggalakkan demokrasi parti dalaman, memudahkan penginstitutionan parti dan mempercepatkan penyatuan demokratik di Republik Keempat Nigeria.

Kata Kunci: Demokrasi parti dalaman, penginstitutionan parti, penyatuan demokratik, Nigeria.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I hereby express my unmitigated gratitude to God Almighty for His unmerited favours and to my beloved country, the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the management of my institution, the Federal Polytechnic, Idah for the opportunity granted me to embark on a PhD programme in the Universiti Utara, Malaysia.

My unequivocal appreciation goes to my main supervisor, Dr Kamarul Zaman Bin Haji Yusoff for his thoroughness and constructive tutelage, accessibility, understanding, magnanimity, empathy and simplicity. I also recognize the incisive guide of my co-supervisor, Dr Sivaperegasam P. Rajanthiran in the course of this study. My sincere thanks to my prolific and versatile internal reviewer Associate Professor Mohammed Ainuddin Iskandar Lee and my external examiner, Associate Professor Rosmadi Fauzi of University of Malaya for their critical but objective observation and inputs. I would not forget the research skills imbibed from the proficient teachings of Associate Professor Mohammed Syafi and Professor Mohammed Halib who groomed me in Academic Writing and Research Methodology respectively. These courses and the expertise with which they were handled marked a watershed in my research experience.

My kind regards to the Management and Staff of COLGIS and SOIS for their professionalism, industry and humility. Also worthy of acknowledgement are my great friends Dr Sunday Simon, Dr Abdulkadir Jaffar, Dr Sakariyau Tunde Rauf, Dr Abubakar Mohammed Sambo, Dr Sulaiman Siddiqui, Dr Hatim Mohammed, Dr Vicky, Dr Siva, Mr Budin of U-Assist, Mrs Nor Fatimah, Alhaji Idris Ismail, Dr Hadi of the Universiti Clinic, Dr Success Ojogbane Sani (who came from University of Putra to witness my Viva), and numerous others who made my stay worthwhile. I commend the management and staff of Universiti Utara, Malaysia for the conducive environment created for effective learning and peaceful coexistence that made me felt at home. This is classic and legendary.

I acknowledge my colleagues in Nigeria whose objective and subjective, positive and negative views and comments about the validity of my academic claims spurred me to put greater efforts and accomplishments to their possible consternation and/or acknowledgement of the reality that what matters in academics is "brain and not brawn". I also appreciate the productive interactions with my course mates such as Dr Takkydeen, Dr Ganiyat, Dr Guna, Dr Tasiu Magaji among others.

I appreciate the efforts of my intimate and genuine friends who provided me with emotional succour while in the jungle of Sintok through phone calls, chats, and who offered valuable advice, motivation and financial interventions.

My deep seated encomiums go to my wife, children and loved ones for their patience, and sacrifice throughout the duration of my programme. Glory, honour and adoration to God Almighty for this historic intellectual blessing. I believe it shall not be in vain.

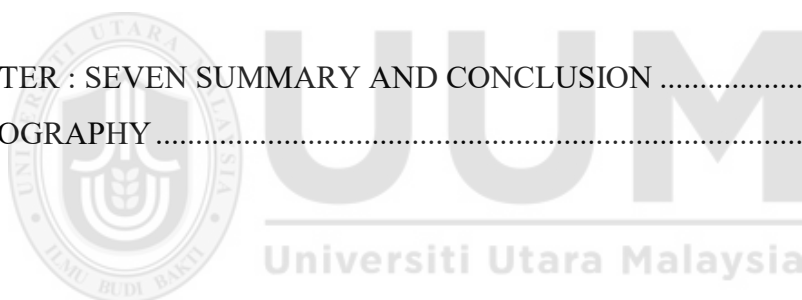
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AD	Alliance for Democracy
ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
AG	Action Congress
ANC	All Nigeria Congress
ANPP	All Nigeria Peoples Party
APC	All Progressives Congress
APGA	All Progressives Grand Alliance
APP	All Peoples Party
CDC	Constitution Drafting Committee
CDCC	Constitution Debate Coordinating Committee
CDS	Centre for Democratic Studies
CNC	Congress of Nigerian Citizens
CPC	Congress for Progressive Change
DPN	Democratic Party of Nigeria
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
GNPP	Great Nigeria Peoples Party
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IGR	Inter-Governmental Relations
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
ING	Interim National Government
IPD	Internal Party Democracy
KANU	Kenya Africa National Union
LP	Labour Party
NA	National Assembly
NCNC	National Council of Nigerian Citizens
NCPN	National Conscience Party of Nigeria
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NEC	National Electoral Election
NEC	National Executive Committee
NEC	National Electoral Commission
NECON	National Electoral Commission of Nigeria

NEPU	Northern Elements Progressive Union
NNC	Nigeria National Congress
NNDP	Nigerian National Democratic Party
NPC	Northern Peoples' Congress
NPN	National Party of Nigeria
NPP	New Patriotic Party
NPP	Nigeria Peoples Party
NRC	National Republican Convention
NYM	Nigerian Youth Movement
PDM	Peoples' Democratic Movement
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party
PFC	Peoples' Consultative Forum
PFN	Peoples Front of Nigeria
PNP	Peoples' National Party
PPA	Progressive Peoples' Alliance
PRP	Peoples Redemption Party
PSP	Peoples Solidarity Party
RPN	Republic Party of Nigeria
SDP	Social Democratic Party
SLPP	Sierra Leone Peoples Party
SPP	Social Progressive Party
TMG	Transition Monitoring Group
UNCP	United Nigeria Congress Party
UPGA	United Progressives Grand Alliance
UPN	Unity Party of Nigeria

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The origin of political parties in Nigeria could be traced to the colonial epoch (Dode, 2010). The eventual stiff opposition to it by the country's nationalist movements metamorphosed into political associations in order to contest elections into the legislative council as Nigeria progressed towards independence. The first political party that was formed in Nigeria was the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) with Herbert Macaulay as the founding father. Established in 1923, the motive of the founding father was to ensure that the party keyed into the advantages offered by the new Clifford Constitution; the NNDP successfully mobilised the various interest groups in Lagos into one political entity to enhance its political strength (The Tide, 2010).

The NNDP competed for many seats in the 1922 elections into the Lagos Legislative Council and won three seats. In the subsequent elections which were conducted in 1923, 1928 and 1933, the party won all the seats. Even though the party's major role was to fill the legislative seats, it had the overall objective of promoting the growth of democratic governance in Nigeria, ensuring greater participation in the realms of social, economic as well as educational advancement of the country. The political dominance of the NNDP in Lagos continued until 1938 when it was completely defeated by the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) (Meredith, 2005).

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Appendix 1: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

RESPONDENT 1: INAH CIROMA

PDP Stalwart and National women leader.

Interviewed on 19/2/2018

Venue: Personal office, Garki 11.

Time: 4pm.

Phone +2348033333537. Email: ciromainah2009@gmail.com.

RESPONDENT 2: AROME SALIFU,

PDP Gubernatorial Aspirant, Kogi State

Interviewed on 17/5/2018

Time: 2pm

Venue: PDP Secretariat, Lokoja

Phone +2348069128653. Email aromesalifu1970@yahoo.com.

RESPONDENT 3: ONALO ATOKOLO

APC Stalwart and National Youth Leader

Interviewed on 22/2/2018

Time: 4pm

Venue: APC National Secretariat, Abuja.

Phone +2348135550290, email: atosonalo@gmail.com.

RESPONDENT 4: PROFESSOR OMODIA S. MONDAY,

Dean, Faculty of Social Science, Edo State University, Iyamu.

Interviewed on 25/4/2018

Time: 4pm

Venue: Department of Political Science,

Edo State University, Iyamu

Phone +2348053964115, email omodiastephen@gmail.com.

RESPONDENT 5 CHIEF JOHN S. ODAWN

PDP National Ex-officio Member,
State Chairman and Grassroots Mobiliser
Interviewed on 28/3/2018
Time: 6pm
Venue: Egume extension,
Dekina Local Council, Kogi State.
Phone +2349063237531, email: eikojonwaotaida@gmail.com.

RESPONDENT 6 UGBANE NICHOLAS,
Senator of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
Interviewed on 13/5/2018
Time: 3pm
Venue; Hotel Bahamas
Behind ECOWAS Secretariat, Abuja
Phone +23480113385403.

RESPONDENT 7: CHINWE NNOROM.
PDP National Director of Publicity.
Interviewed on 19/2/2018
Time: 12pm
Venue: PDP National Secretariat, Plot 1970, Michael Okpara Street
Wadata Plaza, Wuse 5, Abuja.
Phone +23435806413, email nnoromci@gmail.com.

RESPONDENT 8: ABEL UBAGHA
National Administrative Officer,
All Progressives Congress,
Interviewed on 15/2/2018
Time: 11am
Venue: APC National Headquarters, 40, Blantyre Street, Wuse 11, Abuja.
Phone +23468167403, email amoduabodiya@gmail.com

RESPONDENT 9: MUSA HUSSUNU, Deputy Director, Political Party Monitoring

Date of interview 23/3/2018

Time: 10am

Venue: INEC Headquarters, Plot 436, Zambezi Crescent,
Maitama District, Abuja.

Phone +2348037876803, email hussunu.inec.ng.my

RESPONDENT 10: DR RAUF TUNDE

Academic and Public Affairs Analyst

Interviewed on 5/1/2018

Time: 10am

Venue: Nigeria Police Academy,
Department of Political Science,
Kano-Maiduguri Road, Kano State.

Phone +2347038163405, email sakrauf2002@yahoo.com



APPENDIX 2: DATA TRANSCRIPTION

RESPONDENT 1: INAH CIROMA

PDP Stalwart and National women leader.

Interviewed on 19/2/2018

Time: 4pm

Venue: Personal office, Garki 11.

Phone +2348033333537. Email: ciromainah2009@gmail.com.

Question: Describe the state of internal party democracy in your party, the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP)?

Answer: The PDP was founded on the principles of equity and justice in order to give every member an opportunity to participate irrespective of ethnic background and religious creed. The introduction of zoning arrangement was aimed at promoting ipd in terms of rotation of key party and government offices among the ethnic groups and geopolitical regions.

However, along the line, zoning arrangement was jettisoned and caused the party the 2015 elections. PDP members embarked anti-party activities and voted against the party. Some geopolitical zones felt the party was unfair to them. That marked the era of impunity in the party. This is because the aggrieved parties withdrew their level of commitment and in some cases withdrew their commitment.

ipd is an issue in the PDP and other parties and if not corrected, it will affect the country the country negatively. If not that military rule has become outmoded, the situation has the potentials to attract military incursion. The Nigeria's brand of democracy is not fully democratic because people are not allowed to make their choice.

poverty makes the people to sell their votes. The delegates are enticed with money and they act according to the dictates of moneybags. This hinders the growth of ipd. Nepotism is also another factor as some people want their kinsmen emerge whether competent or not. This affects the party and the ipd.

Question: What are the consequences of lack of ipd?

Answer: The consequences are great. In December 2016, there was a PDP convention and the PDP still negated ipd by its conduct because the party bigwigs imposed their preferred candidates on the party as party executives. This affects the unity of the party and caused defection. Prior to 2016 Convention, the party set up a reconciliatory committee to reach out to aggrieved members but the convention proper manifested profound lack of ipd.

The role of money in politics cannot not be denied but it was abused in the PDP and members felt so offended as the party financiers dictated everything leading to disenchantment and passiveness by members who chose not to defect.

Question: What are the effects of the above on party unity, stability durability and democratic consolidation?

Answer: The current state of ipd portends great danger for democratic stability and could lead to military intervention in politics if not for it being old fashioned. The current government frowns at opposition which is the beauty of democracy. The government derails from the party manifestoes because the party is subservient to the executives in power thereby undermine the quality of politics and governance.

Question: What factors led to this gross deviation ?

Answer: Nigeria's democracy is still relatively young. This is as a result of prolonged period of military rule in the country since independence. The excuse by those in power is that the country's democracy is not as old as that of the US which took over 200 years to attain its current level of perfection but that is becoming untenable.

Poverty makes people not to look at the long term implications for Nigeria's democracy and retards infrastructural development because if democracy is right everything would be right.

Question: How could ipd be promoted in Nigerian political parties.

Answer: Most problems emanate during the periods candidates are selected as some persons are aggrieved and cried foul of being marginalized and resort to different actions to ventilate their anger. Candidates who were imposed on the people should not be elected at the general election. Mechanisms should be put in place to ensure checks and balances.

Attempts are now being made to reintroduce direct primaries (option A4) in order to enhance internal party democracy in Nigerian political parties. This process will give a sense of participation and belonging to all members of the party and eliminate or reduce the impunity being currently experienced in the party and help the party reclaim its lost glory.

Question: Apart from candidate selection before the general election, does ipd affect the internal operations of the party?

Answer: It does affect the party because the party officials emerge from flawed processes carry out the whims and caprices of those who installed them. They are fair to all but carry the bidding of party godfathers. The members of the working committees rarely unite because everybody works for those who facilitated his

emergence as a member. Hence, common purpose and party unity are being undermined more so the godfathers operate in schism.

Question: Could you point out the effects of the level of internal party democracy on party institutionalization.

Answer: The effects are numerous. It explains why our country is witnessing political stability, political violence, and underdevelopment. Parties ought to be strong to perform their roles but when they lack internal party democracy, they would be infighting and disunity and these work against party institutionalization and democratic consolidation or stability.

RESPONDENT 2: AROME SALIFU,
PDP Gubernatorial Aspirant, Kogi State
Interviewed on 17/5/2018

Time: 2pm

Venue: PDP Secretariat, Lokoja

Phone +2348069128653. Email aromesalifu1970@yahoo.com.

Question: Describe the state of internal party democracy in Nigerian political parties, particularly in your party.

Answer: Democracy in general is a process and not a destination or an end in itself. Internal party democracy is one of those processes that give value and meaning to democracy. Party politics all over the world is what build the fabric and essence of democracy and democracy gives meaning to good governance while good governance brings about development, hence the linkages.

In Africa generally and Nigeria in particular, democracy is still developing, so, it requires improvement especially with respects to internal party democracy. Where we are at the moment is a far cry from where we ought to or desire to be. The current

political parties are allies and co-travellers who got the opportunity to manage political affairs for personal advantage and hence limits the level of internal party democracy across the political divide.

There is need to for modification on what could consolidate the essence and true meaning of democracy as government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Question: To what extent would agree that internal party democracy has a link with its institutionalization?

Answer: When parties are not stable and members are not united, it will ultimately affect its institutionalization. The parties are usually inactive during the periods without elections but surface when elections are approaching. That is why many parties do not last in Nigeria. The internal wrangling are so intense so much so that the cohesion are weak. They do not have strong links with the grassroots.

Question: What is responsible for the current level of IPD?

Answer: Our democracy and politics are highly monetised. If you are not wealthy, you cannot participate fully. You need money to service the machineries , secure the loyalty of party members and participate extensively in the all facets of the parties' operations. Those who have money control, manipulate and dominate these processes. The candidate selection process are so biased leading to acrimonious relationship among the parties.

Ultimately, the end results are being compromised because the processes are not anchored on ideologies. Ethnic, religious, and other primordial considerations still dominate the political scene as opposed to the core values and ideals of democracy. The moneybags control the ethnic and religious emotions of the people and manipulate

the political scene to satisfy their selfish interest. Hence, political parties have godfathers and the existence of the parties are tied to their godfathers.

Question: What are the effects on the level of IPD?

Answer: Absence of IPD has given rise to the rule of cabal, money politics, godfatherism and survival of the fittest and due process is discarded. The members do not take a common stand on issues and the national interest becomes subsumed under the selfish interests of the political class.

Question: What implication does the level of internal party democracy in the Fourth Republic has on party institutionalization ?

Answer: The essence of internal party democracy is to give party members a sense of belonging and enable participate in the affairs of the party. But since this is lacking in the political parties, they are always characterised by the grievances of members and cause instability in the party. And when parties are not stable, attaining institutionalization becomes elusive. The ability of the parties in terms of contribution to democratic consolidation also becomes difficult.

RESPONDENT 3: ONALO ATOKOLO

APC Stalwart and National Youth Leader

Interviewed on 22/2/2018

Time: 4pm

Venue: APC National Secretariat, Abuja.

Phone +2348135550290, email: atosonalo@gmail.com.

Question: How would you describe the state of ipd in Nigeria and in your party, the APC?

Answer: ipd speaks of how political parties elect or select candidates they wish to represent them at the general elections. The level of ipd in Nigeria is a big issue as

far as Nigeria's democracy is concerned. It would not be out of place to say that ipd is an issue we are battling with in our democracy because it is not well entrenched in our democracy. It is still at a developmental stage largely because democracy as a form of government is relatively new in Nigeria and as such the country is striving to imbibe the concomitant culture.

Question: what gave rise to the level of ipd described above?

Answer: Historically, Nigeria had witnessed a turbulent governance journey. The country has witnessed several years of military rule since independence. Military rules are typically tyrannical and create a culture of imposition which we witness in the contemporary epoch. That is the genesis of godfatherism. Hence, people have become more powerful than the party institutions . Parties which ought to be institutional vehicles through which candidates emerge and deepen democracy are no longer so because of the tradition of imposition .

Political contestation in Nigeria is seen as a do or die affair . Political parties are not ideologically based because they are built around the ego of individuals who are called godfathers or chieftains who decide the tone of events . Hence, political parties are weak.

The character of the political process is zero-sum or winner takes all. consequently, participants interfere with the process and struggle to have their candidates imposed.

Question: What is the level of ipd in your party, the APC?

Answer: The birth of APC could be linked to the failure of the former ruling party, the PDP . A key factor that led to the failure of the PDP was the issue of internal party democracy. A lot of party members became disenchanted . There was no sense of ownership and sense of belonging as a result of lack of internal party democracy.

But today, APC is still fraught with profound lack of internal party democracy. There are contentious issues bordering on internal party democracy. Lack of ipdhas caused and is still causing serious disunity among party members. . In virtually all the 36 states of the federation, for instance, internal struggles in the party have factionalised the party. In Kaduna State, a sitting governor on the platform of the APC had to supervise the demolition of factional office in Kaduna . This has caused a great feud and tremendous bitterness among party members who should ordinarily been united

The above scenario has led to defection of some party members to parties which they feel they could actualise their political ambition. The situation has also given rise to many inactive party members who, though do not defect, remain passive and indolent. Prolong litigation is also a fall out of the level of ipd arising from imposition of candidates. This often creates a situation of instability as some candidates who were earlier returned elected would have their victory over-tuned by the courts. It affects the party at the general election as aggrieved party members fail to work for the election of the candidates allegedly imposed on them.

Ultimately, parties do not get institutionalised because they are far from the institutions they ought to be in terms of driving the agenda for good governance and entrenchment of democracy. This is because you find people who are more powerful than the party and constitute themselves into institutions . This has greatly hampered the deepening of democratic culture and ethos in Nigeria. Party discipline becomes elusive .

RESPONDENT 4: PROFESSOR OMODIA S. MONDAY,
Dean, Faculty of Social Science, Edo State University, Iyamu.
Interviewed on 25/4/2018
Time: 4pm

Venue: Department of Political Science,

Edo State University, Iyamu

Phone +2348053964115, email omodiastephen@gmail.com

Question: Could you comment on the state of Nigeria's Fourth Republic political parties and the level of ipd.

Answer: Generally, political parties and political institutions in Nigeria are fragile and the political culture is weak. This is in contrast with the western world where there is a participant political culture. Nigerian political parties are suffering from institutional fragility. The national economy is weak and this affects politics and governance. Politicians venture into politics in order to acquire economic base.

Political parties in Nigeria are not ideologically based but mere canopies for power contestation. When the PDP was in power, politicians defected into it to facilitate their quest for power. Now, the trend is to defect into APC being the ruling party to get what they want.

Question: What is the level of internal party democracy in Nigeria since the Fourth Republic commenced?

Answer: As a matter of fact, one can say without fear of contradiction that Nigeria political parties do not only fail to promote internal party democracy but also frustrate its adoption. The political barons decide party operations and this stunts the practice of internal party democracy. This very common during congresses for internal leadership positions and primary elections where candidates are nominated to take part in the general elections. It is common to see the party masters imposing their favourite candidates on the other members. The result of this ugly situation has been gross animosity among members and contestation of the outcome in the courts.

Question: Sir, how has the level of internal party democracy affected party institutionalization?

Answer: This is enormous in the sense that the parties are always experiencing cracks, factions and instability. When this happens, the parties begin to lack cohesion and disunity leading to them becoming weaker and fragile. the chances of institutionalizations begins to get bleaker. They therefore unable to perform their roles in the democratic set up. This has been the character of the parties in Nigeria but the situation has deteriorated since the commencement of the Fourth Republic.

Question: What is the implication of the above for democratic stability and consolidation?

Answer: The situation creates a typical manifestation of anomie and topsy-turvy due to desperate quest for power. The crises that exist in different parts of the country are a result of the quest for power because the perpetrators are being sponsored.

The situation increases the clamour for military intervention as the opposition politicians prefer a demolition of the present order and the commencement of a fresh transition programme. This is against the tenets of democratic consolidation where the elites are all expected to support the new order. Opposition parties are weak and cannot function effectively.

There is lack of continuity in governance as different leaders emerge and jettison earlier government policies. Party supremacy is lacking as the parties are controlled by the chief executives . Party discipline is undermined too. For instance it was President Buhari that stopped the Oyegun APC executive from their succession bid recently.

RESPONDENT 5 CHIEF JOHN S. ODAWN

PDP National Ex-officio Member,

State Chairman and Grassroots Mobiliser

Interviewed on 28/3/2018

Time: 6pm

Venue: Egume extension,

Dekina Local Council, Kogi State.

Phone +2349063237531, email: eikojonwaotaida@gmail.com

Question: Could you comment freely on the state of Fourth Republic political parties

Answer: One cannot discuss the operations of the current political parties without making reference to their historical antecedent. They are majorly parties that emerge during the military rule. As result of the banning and lifting of ban of earlier political parties due to their alleged inability to meet registration requirements, a few parties that met the so-called requirements were hurriedly packaged, comprising strange bed fellows that were not ideologically bound together.

Question: How would you describe the state of internal party democracy in Nigerian political parties and you party in particular?

Answer: There is no need to hesitate before saying emphatically that the Nigerian political parties are characterised by lack of internal party democracy. Remember i was the state chairman of my party PDP. But it is not easy to control the activities of some powerful elements in the party who want the party affairs to be run according to their dictates. That is why i had to leave the party after my tenure to join the APC. But as time went on, the situation in the APC was not different if not even worse. Hence, i decided to defect back to my earlier party, the PDP.

Question: What is responsible for the current state of internal party democracy in the parties, based on your experience in different political parties?

Answer: As i mentioned earlier, the formation of political parties are not based on ideologies. and as such powerful forces have the tendency to circumvent the rules and guidelines for candidate selection. They would like everybody to accept their preferred candidates even if they are not competent. They do this by vote buying and manipulation of the rules. At the end, competent members are not given the party ticket while their favoured candidates are given.

Question: What are the prospects of the parties being institutionalized or stable?

Answer: Given the present situation, the chances are so remote in the sense that as more and more people get disenchanted, they defect from the party become passive without making any input in terms of finance or ideas that could move the party forward. In worst cases, the parties split or become volatile and factionalised. The unity required to move the party forward would be lacking. They carry these practices into elections and attempt to manipulate the process. The kind of parties are mere tools in the hands of some people who want to use the parties to assume power and siphon the wealth of the state.

RESPONDENT 6 UGBANE NICHOLAS,

Senator of the Federal Republic of Nigeria

Interviewed on 13/5/2018

Time: 3pm

Venue; Hotel Bahamas

Behind ECOWAS Secretariat, Abuja

Phone +23480113385403

Question: What is the level of internal party democracy in Nigerian Fourth Republic political parties?

Answer: I would like to start by saying that internal party democracy is a crucial factor that must be addressed if political parties must be able to perform their roles

effectively. But sadly, this fundamental factor is lacking in Nigerian current parties. As a matter of fact, its absence has been the bane of the current political parties and democratic politics. The current parties are still having vestiges of military rule by manifesting autocratic inclinations. The fall out of this trend is the serious stalemate and suspicion which now characterise the executive legislative organs despite their overwhelming common party affiliation.

Question: What are factors that you can adduce as being responsible for the current level of internal party democracy?

Answer: Many factors are responsible for the state of internal party democracy at the moment. First, we must admit that Nigeria's democratic journey has been a very rough one due to military interregnum and failed transition . As such the politicians have not imbibed the tenets of democracy including the internal party democracy. Second, the parties are composed of people of diverse ideological leanings and so they find it difficult to chat a common cause. Third, there are some people in the parties that want things to be done by their own ways and ensure that laid down rules are jettisoned. These people use their wealth and positions to mastermind party operations and election outcomes. Fourth, consensus arrangements prevent some persons from contesting for positions. Fifth, when the zoning arrangement is adopted, even qualified party members from other zones would not be allowed to aspire for the offices.

Question: Could you point out some effects of the level of internal party democracy in the parties?

Answer: The absence of internal party democracy in the current parties leads to marginalization of some party members . Ultimately, some members defect from the party to join parties where they can actualise their ambition. There is a lot of disunity

in the parties due to the lack of internal party democracy. The various splits such as the nPDP and rAPC are fall outs of lack of internal party democracy.

Question: To what extent can the Fourth Republic political parties get institutionalised and contribute to democratic consolidation?

Answer: Parties need to be united and the members disciplined to be able to deepen democracy. But factionalised parties as we have in Nigeria can hardly entrench democracy or become institutionalised. Key elements of internal party democracy must be imbibed by parties to ensure cohesion and common front to discourage antiparty conduct by aggrieved members otherwise party institutionalization and democratic consolidation will be remain elusive.

RESPONDENT 7: CHINWE NNOROM.

PDP National Director of Publicity.

Interviewed on 19/2/2018

Time: 12pm

Venue: PDP National Secretariat, Plot 1970, Michael Okpara Street
Wadata Plaza, Wuse 5, Abuja.

Phone +23435806413, email nnoromci@gmail.com.

Question: How would you describe the state of IPD in the PDP?

Answer: There is a high level of IPD in the PDD and that is what sustained the party in power for sixteen years. The party might not have achieved the degree of IPD as required but as a political party, it appreciates the essence of inclusivity and participatory democracy.

To ensure the enforcement of IPD in the operations of PDP, committees are set up at different levels during congresses and conventions. These include 'Election Committee' which has the mandate to conduct elections. This is a 7 member committee

having 2 females members to give them a sense of belonging. There is also a screening committee to determine qualified aspirants. The Appeal Committee looks at the grievances arising from the elections. These are aimed at promoting IPD.

Ironically, some members of the committee get into the field and compromise the rules and truncate the quest of the party to entrench IPD.

Question: What are the effects of intraparty feud on party unity and cohesion?

Answer: Disagreements are part of human activity and intraparty conflicts are not an exception political parties being part of human organisations. Some members would definitely not agree with the trend in the party. When this occur, dialogue would be explored. For instance , after the December 2017 National Conventions, a post-convention reconciliation committee which reached out to aggrieved members to enable the party forge ahead as a united body though not all aggrieved members would accept the resolutions of the committee.

Question: Could you explain the level of institutionalization of PDP

Answer: Institutionalization comes with time. I cannot say that PDP is an institutionalized party because it is relatively young due to a series of political experiment and protracted military rule. However, once the grievances are curtailed, the party will assume the status of institutionalization.

RESPONDENT 8: ABEL UBAGHA

National Administrative Officer,

All Progressives Congress,

Interviewed on 15/2/2018

Time: 11am

Venue: APC National Headquarters, 40, Blantyre Street, Wuse 11, Abuja.

Phone +23468167403, email amoduabodiya@gmail.com

Question: Describe the state of IPD in the APC.

Answer: APC observes IPD because it conducts its primaries in a transparent atmosphere and the primaries are transmitted for the public to view. At the end, the aggrieved contestants cooperate with the winners to forge a common front before the general election.

Question: What is the level of IPD specifically in the area of internal elections to elect party officials?

Answer: In order to give members a sense of belonging, offices are zoned to different parts and keenly contested. Forms are given to women and the physically challenged to encourage them to take active part and promote IPD.

Question: How are the party structures exploited to address grievances within the party?

Answer: The party believes in the transparent process and as such does not dissipate much energy on conflict resolution. However, the occasional issues of grievances are not the results of lack of IPD but a display of desperation on the part of some aspirants. As a party in government, it strives to reward those members who contributed to its success at the polls.

RESPONDENT 9: MUSA HUSSUNU, Deputy Director, Political Party Monitoring

Date of interview 23/3/2018

Time: 10am

Venue: INEC Headquarters, Plot 436, Zambezi Crescent,
Maitama District, Abuja.

Phone +2348037876803, email hussunu.inec.ng.my

Question? Could you please comment extensively on the state of political parties in Nigerian Fourth Republic political parties with particular emphasis on the role of INEC in the enforcement of ipd.

Answer: There is no doubt of course that Nigerian political parties lack internal party democracy. This is both in their internal elections as well as in the candidate selection. There are always grievances among party members that the process is unfair to some due to activities of political godfathers. However, INEC as an organisation merely advises the political parties to abide by the tenets of ipd without necessarily interfering in their internal operations. However, where there are stalemates in the parties, INEC plays a mediatory role with the instrumentality of the Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR). By this, the commission invites the contending parties to a round table for amicable resolution. If the disputes defy amicable settlement as a result of the recalcitrance of one or both parties, they would be given a time frame of 21 days to resolve it themselves and report back the outcome of their resolution to the commission.

The aforementioned mediatory role of INEC is facilitated by prevailing on the contending parties to make recourse to the relevant sections of the Nigerian constitution, political parties code of conduct and the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended).

It is the responsibility of the parties' National Executive Committee (NEC) that has the mandate to redress intraparty rancour. Unfortunately, the NEC which should be the neutral arbiter in conflict resolution and enforcement of ipd violates the doctrine by perpetuating their tenure and assume anti anti-democratic. However, in such situations,

INEC calls the attention of the parties to such a deviation in its quest to promote ipd because this is anticipated by Section 222 of the 1999 Constitution.

Question: Would you see the current political parties as institutionalized parties?

Answer: Definitely the current political parties are not institutionalized because they are highly factionalised and unstable. They are not decorous in their internal operations and in the way they engage in interparty competition but are instead enmeshed in bitter conflicts which lead to defection and whip up sentiment thereby overheating the polity. These kind of situation retards the process of institutionalization and democratic consolidation.

RESPONDENT 10: DR RAUF TUNDE

Academic and Public Affairs Analyst

Interviewed on 5/1/2018

Time: 10am

Venue: Nigeria Police Academy,

Department of Political Science,

Kano-Maiduguri Road, Kano State.

Phone +2347038163405, email sakrauf2002@yahoo.com

Question: Describe the level of internal party democracy in Nigeria's Fourth Republic political parties.

Answer: Political parties are associations of persons who come together to vie for power. What we have been having in Nigeria since independence are mere associations rather than political parties in the real sense of the term. Political parties ought to be based on ideologies but the ones we have in Nigeria are merely based on how to hijack power. There is no clear cut ideological distinction between the PDP and APC. Those in the parties defect from one to the other because of the ideological blurredness. People join parties to become wealthy or get their share of the national

cake. Political parties in the advance democracies are known by the ideologies they are built on. It is against this background that ipd could be attained.

Question ? What is responsible the current state of ipd in Nigerian political parties?

Answer? Right from the First Republic, the political parties were regionally based and founded around the ego of their leaders. The parties lacked the national out with and did not have the capacity to promote national integration. The parties had no ideological base and so could not have created a fertile ground the promotion of ipd. Selfish interest is the bane of ipd in Nigeria and that is why the same internal power contestation that ravaged the PDP while in power is still rocking the APC. This is caused by political greed. That is why many people were being killed in the course of party congresses across the country.

Question: How does the above situation affect party unity and electoral chances?

Answer: The situation leads to anti-party conduct as card carrying members of the party work against it during elections because they feel short-changed by the intraparty power contestation. They lack cohesion. Those who fought former President Jonathan have started fighting President Buhari again because they are actually after their selfish interest.

Question; Could you prescribe ways of promoting ipd in Nigerian political parties.

Answer: The antidote is to found parties on ideology. This will ensure that party becomes supreme and the parties become stable and institutionalised